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Conflict, mobility and language: the case of migrant Hadjaraye of Guéra to neighboring regions of Chari-Baguirmi and Salamat (Chad)

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Abstract

The people of Guéra known as Hadjaraye (from Arabic: the mountain dwellers) have experienced all the atrocities of war and the sufferings of drought that caused them to emigrate. In the early 1970, the ecological conditions worsened and changed for ever, giving way to cyclic droughts which resulted in chronic famine in the years 1973-1974 and 1984-1985. During the same decade the civil war gained a foothold in this area and ravaged it. Even though the Hadjaraye used to practice traditional migration during peaceful times, another form of migration has been imposed upon them by the new circumstances. A massive outflow of population ensued. Waves of Hadjaraye started moving from one place to another within the Guéra region itself, as well as outside the region and the country.

This constant mobility will definitely yield social as well as cultural and linguistic effects. The study investigates language attitude among the Hadjaraye migrants of the Guéra region in the two neighboring regions of Chari-Baguirmi and Salamat in Chad. Results suggest that while social integration is successful due to the common lingua franca the host and migrant communities share, the future of the mother tongues of the immigrants is at stake, because they will be spoken in a reduced circle, namely at home only. So, even though at an initial stage they are spoken, in the end they will be gradually abandoned, not in favor of the host regions languages, but in favor of the Chadian Arabic which is also the lingua franca in Chad. Linguistic borrowing, bilingualism, code mixing, code switching are the results stemming from these language contacts. However this depends largely on the attitude of the migrant community. This actually seems to indicate that the immigrants are not likely to pass on their languages to the next generations in the distant future. The ultimate outcome will be the loss of language which will inevitably lead to the loss of identity of the migrants.

Key Words: mobility, language attitude, language maintenance, language loss, Chad, Guéra,

Résumé

Les populations du Guéra communément connues sous le vocable de Hadjaraye (de l'arabe tchadien « habitants de la montagne ») ont enduré les affres de la guerre et les atrocités des famines qui furent la cause de leur émigration. Dans les années 1970, les conditions écologiques de la région s'étaient complètement dégradées de sorte que le tissu écologique fut carrément transformé. Des années de sécheresse se sont succédées avec pour conséquences des famines implacables dans les années 1973-1974 et 1984-1985. Au courant de cette même décennie, la guerre civile occupa la région et fit des ravages d'une ampleur incommensurable. Même si les Hadjaraye avaient pratiqué la migration traditionnelle en temps de paix, les nouvelles circonstances vont désormais leur imposer une nouvelle forme de migration. Un départ massif de population s'ensuivra. Des vagues des groupes des Hadjaraye vont commencer à émigrer dans tous les sens: à l'intérieur de la région, hors de la région et même hors du pays.

Cette mobilité constante due au gré des événements aura certainement des conséquences aussi bien d'ordre social, culturel que linguistique. Cette étude a pour but d'examiner le comportement langagier des Hadjaraye ayant immigré dans les deux régions voisines du Guéra, à savoir le Chari-Baguirmi et le Salamat. Un accent est particulièrement mis sur le devenir des langues des immigrants dans leur nouvel environnement. A cet effet, un questionnaire a été utilisé pour recueillir les données concernant un certain nombre de questions relatives aux causes de la mobilité ainsi qu'à la préservation ou à la perte de la langue. Ce questionnaire est complété par des interviews que certaines et réponses des informateurs ont soulevées. Les résultats indiquent que même si l'intégration sociale est un succès du fait que les deux communautés concernées partagent la même langue véhiculaire, l'avenir des langues maternelles des migrants sera de plus en plus hypothéqué, parce que ces langues seront désormais parlées dans un cercle beaucoup plus réduit, c'est-à-dire celui de la famille. Même si au début de l'installation des immigrants, elles sont parlées, à la longue, elles seront, petit à petit, abandonnées, non pas au profit des langues des régions d'accueil, mais au profit de l'arabe dialectal qui est la langue véhiculaire au Tchad. Cependant cela est tributaire du comportement langagier de la communauté immigrante. Ce qui laisse entrevoir que les immigrés ne seront pas en mesure de transmettre leurs langues aux générations futures dans un avenir plus lointain. Le devenir ultime de ces langues sera sûrement leur perte qui conduira inévitablement à la perte d'identité des immigrants.

Mots-clés : mobilité, comportement langagier, préservation linguistique, perte de langue, Guéra, Tchad.

Introduction

Just like the Republic of Chad which is located at the heart of Africa, the region of Guéra is also placed at the centre of Chad. The Guéra region is located at latitude of 12° North and a longitude of 18° east. It covers an area of 58.950 km². It is limited in the North by the Batha region, in the South by the Middle Chari and Salamat regions, in the East by the Ouaddaï region and in the West by the Chari-Baguirmi region. This central position is very strategic because it constitutes a crossroads linking the north to the south and the east to the west. This region has always been the scene of events that punctuated the history of Chad. This very history is responsible of waves of

population's migration which resulted later. The population numbers about 306.653 inhabitants (Beauvilain 1993). The Hadjaraye are farmers and cattle rearers. The population of Guéra is composed of many ethnic groups who over the history arrived in the region to share the same way of living, shaped and regulated by the Margay which was above all the cement that modelled the Hadjaraye society to the extent that it definitely engraved it the sentiment of belonging to the same community. So, despite their ethnic diversity, they share many things in common. On the cultural level, the Hadjaraye group is homogeneous. They used to possess a rich culture deeply enshrined in a traditional cult called the Margay. Probably, that is precisely what made Chapelle (1980) say that «*The Guéra region is a real ethnic puzzle and yet the group of Hadjaraye is one of the most coherent*». These groups had been later joined by other peoples, particularly the Dadjo, the Iyal-Nass and other more who came to melt into the Hadjaraye group and make it richer.

Precisely, some elements of this population had to migrate en masse to the Chari-Baguirmi and the Salamat regions as a result of the repeated droughts and the endless civil war which ravaged the country. It should be noted that the people of Guéra emigrated to almost all parts of Chad. But the regions that are concerned by the present chapter are Chari-Baguirmi and Salamat, because they received many inhabitants of Guéra who fled the war and the harshness of the natural calamities. They are entirely integrated in these two regions bordering Guéra. In Chari-Baguirmi, they settled mainly along the main roads leading to Guelendeng, to Dourbali-Ngama and to the Lake Chad. They settled in many villages, either on their own initiative, or on the NGOs such as the SECADEV. In Salamat, the immigrants chose to stay in Aboudeia and Amtiman. These two regions have been chosen for the study because they suit better and also because of the physical, historical and cultural similarities they share with the Guéra region.

Linguistically speaking, the languages of Guéra are also related to some languages of the two regions. In Chari-Baguirmi, Barma, a language belonging to the Nilo-Saharan family is related to Kenga, Djaya, Bidjir and Dajo of Guéra. The languages of Salamat that are related to the languages of Guéra belong to the Afro-Asiatic Family. They are: Torom and Birgit. However, it should be recalled that the lingua franca spoken in the three regions, namely in Guéra, Chari-Baguirmi and Salamat, is the Chadian Arabic. Needless to say that Chadian Arabic is spoken in the whole of Chad. Therefore, if this situation poses less problems of social integration, it complicates further the maintenance of the immigrants' mother tongues, because what all the immigrants care about, when they newly arrive in an area, is to settle down and seek to be integrated in the new society they joined. It is acknowledged that when immigrants' mother tongues come in a foreign land where a lingua franca is already occupying the terrain, they have little chance to resist after a certain period. They are in danger, because they are threatened of being extinct.

Language constitutes an integral part of society and individuals' identity, for it is the vehicle of culture, the cement of any society. Migrants see their first languages as an essential element of their personal identity an essential link to their own religious and cultural origin, to their parents and to other members of their families and as the only bond to an essential part of their lives they had to leave behind. It may be that their languages represent the only factor of stability in their other wise insecure lives. In the process of integration, both sides, host community and migrants are open to creating a

new common ground for living together respecting the already formed identity. It is a generally accepted view that the ability to speak the languages of the receiving society usually plays an important part in the process of integration, because it is a precondition for participating.

The present chapter deals with language and mobility. It is mainly concerned with the following question: to what extent migrants who are forced to flee war, drought or famine can maintain their languages or lose them when they migrate to foreign lands. What will be the status of their languages, in other words, what will happen to their mother tongues? Is there really a chance that these languages be preserved in order to be passed on later to the future generations? The chapter is to further examine the linguistic attitude of the immigrants. The maintenance or the loss of the mother tongues depends on their attitude, i.e., how will they go about with their languages? In this particular case, migrants are logically expected first to seek to integrate themselves in the host society they newly joined. The process of social integration of the immigrants seems to have taken place with no harm. It is facilitated by the mere fact that most of the migrants speak the lingua franca, i.e. Chadian Arabic which is also spoken in the regions being currently studied. The problems that would arise here will be those of finding employment and getting a piece of land to cultivate, since most of those who come from the rural areas decided also to go where they think they could continue exercising their work.

But beforehand, the region will be presented in three aspects: physical, human and historical. The historical aspect will thoroughly review the socio-cultural factors that had caused the Hadjaraye to emigrate and the effects of these factors on the immigrants (See section 2.4).

For the purpose of this study, a questionnaire was devised to collect data on various questions pertaining to the causes of mobility as well as to the language question, in order to check the ways and means employed by the displaced persons to maintain their mother tongues and also what led to the loss of the languages. The loss of the languages will ultimately and inevitably lead to the loss of identity. The language loss could be symbolic but what about the ethnic identity loss? But this should be nuanced because with the relative peace that returned in the area since 1990, the Hadjaraye are reconsidering to recreate their identity through the reunion with family members and above all because they were disillusioned with politics and the so-called revealed religions.

1. - The re-creation of the Hadjaraye identity

The different events that punctuated the history of Guéra have had as a consequence for the Hadjaraye the questioning their identity. It came a time when to be a Hadjaraye was a problem. These events started very early with the tax collection during the colonial era and continued to independence where they were amplified once the state established the state loan. The excessive collections of the two types of taxes triggered the civil war which burst out within Guéra itself. All these events combined will provoke a massive emigration of the Hadjaraye to unknown horizons. Then, the sons and daughters of Guéra will wander far away from their villages. This emigration will constitute the long march of the Hadjaraye towards the loss of their ethnic identity and the loss of their languages. However, due to the faculty of the

human being to build up again his world, the Hadjaraye seem to begin to regain their roots, after two decades of painful and distressing events, recreating their identity. Two important elements indicate this trend: the re-appropriation of the Margay cult and the promotion of the local languages. Most of the languages of Guéra are being taken care of in the frame of the Federation of Associations of the Promotion of Languages of Guéra (FAPLG). These languages will be linguistically described in order to write syllabuses meant for literacy. This is a move to prevent the languages from dying prematurely.

1.1 - What is the Hadjaraye identity?

The term Hadjaraye doesn't refer to a particular ethnic group. One can hardly find such word in the languages of Guéra, apart from word to word translation meaning "the people of the mountain" It is an allonym, i.e., a name given by foreigners to a group of people living in the same ecological space and sharing the same way of living intimately linked to the mountain. For this reason, the French colonial rulers did not even dare ask the people about their real identity; they just adopted the name Hadjaraye as they were told by the first people they met in the plains. It is this name that will appear in the civil status certificates to characterize people in the area rather than the name of the ethnic groups. For example, one can read in the birth certificate "ethnie Hadjaraye"

Nevertheless, the Guéra region is characterized by a cultural homogeneity whose common denominators are the Margay and the mountain. The Margay represents the cult of the people of Guéra; it embodies both beliefs and power. In this respect, the Margay had molded and regulated the way of living of people dwelling in the mountains. The Guéra area was the scene of socio-cultural activities that founded this group of population called Hadjaraye. Therefore, the Margay was the most important element in the building of the Hadjaraye identity, for it acted as cement in the Hadjaraye society. Thus, the traditional and cultural practices and the way of dressing and eating remained the same throughout the region. For example, the Bidiye who are geographically distant from the Kenga, bear traditional names that remind those of kenga or Mukulu. Examples of such names are Gody, Bada, Mandaba, Kotchi, Moutaye, Baikouma, Oppi etc.

The mountain is the other common denominator. It is part of the cosmogony of almost all the ethnic groups of Guéra. It is cited in the traditional songs and most often in the death songs. The mountain is therefore considered as the foundation of each ethnic group. As a matter of fact, the names of clans are the same as those of the mountains at the feet of which the villages are erected.

It should be noted that the term Hadjaraye has changed its connotation to embrace all the people of Guéra, the autochthonous, i.e., the mountain dwellers as well as those who came later and occupied the plains. Sometimes, some ethnic group living in Guéra would refuse to be associated with the term Hadjaraye, arguing that it doesn't live in the mountains. But behind this argument is hidden another thinking, namely that the Hadjaraye are the followers of Margay, that they are not Moslems. Anyway, this has nothing to do with the Islamic religion, because the Hadjaraye identity goes beyond it. It is rather the influence of the milieu and the environment that matters. If religion is fueled into the Hadjaraye identity it will surely become a factor of division.

It is actually this spectre and the precarious political situation in Chad that make people decide whether they are Hadjaraye or not.

In order to understand the Hadjaraye question, it should be replaced in the context of the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations, particularly the macrologic level (Hamers & Blanc 1990) which reveals the interactions that generated the transformations which gave rise to the Hadjaraye society through the Margay. When different languages and cultures are in contact within the same society, they are isomorphically distributed. However, an important degree of cultural overlapping could exist between people who don't speak the same languages. This implies that an ethnic group could linguistically belong to a group and culturally to another. The socio-cultural situation in Guéra illustrates the case where a culture could be expressed through different languages. Many ethnic groups share the same culture channeled by the Margay.

The identity of the Hadjaraye has been exploited in various ways, by the Hadjaraye themselves and by others. The Hadjaraye used their identity to get higher posts in the government. During the civil war, each of the warring factions sought to enroll as much Hadjaraye as possible because they are known to be good warriors. However, most of them chose to follow Hissène Habré because he claimed to be one of them. The Hadjaraye have managed to be second in command in Habré and Deby's governments but each time they ended up being massacred whenever they claim their share of the loot.

Over the years, the Hadjaraye have tried to stay away from the government of Deby when they realized that they were being exploited, marginalized and not receiving anything in return. For example, the higher military ranking officers refused to fight for Deby against the rebellion for the last three years. But to regain their confidence, he appointed some of them to higher military ranks such as Colonels and Generals. In many occasions, the Hadjaraye had the opportunity to defend their identity. The most resonant one was when Deby attempted to divide up the Guéra region by cutting its most significant part, i.e., the Guéra area (sous-préfecture of Bitkine) and attach it to the Chari-Baguirmi. When the Guéra region was attributed ministerial post of lesser importance like that of Youth and Sport, the Hadjaraye sent a delegation to the ruling party congress to openly and boldly express their disappointment.

1.2 - The waning of the Hadjaraye identity

The identity of the Hadjaraye has been challenged by the events and the emigration that ensued. The Hadjaraye identity started to decline due to two main factors: the linguistic factor and the socio-cultural

1.2.1 – The linguistic factor

The civil war that was waged for thirty years has its share of responsibility in the fate of the mother tongues during years of mobility. Thousands of people were forced to leave their homes, with a probability of not coming back again. Languages migrated along with the people speaking them. Since in Chad, ethnicity implies also language one should expect to find as much languages as ethnic groups that drained out of the region. Languages in particular will suffer from this constant mobility due to a certain number of factors: these are minority languages spoken by minority groups. They are

already in danger of being extinct, because they are threatened by the socio-economic pressure of speakers of powerful lingua franca spoken in the same area. As a result, there is little chance that the minority languages could be preserved in the new areas of settlement. Obviously they will be spoken for some time, but after few generations, they won't. Children born in these places are not likely to speak the languages of their parents, unless they are sent back home. But again, this depends largely on the security in the whole country, since Guéra is placed on the path of the rebels on their way to N'Djamena, the seat of the much disputed power in Chad. Culture, contact and clash are important factors that affect the ecology of language as Wurm (1991) states. They may severely affect the attitude of that population or community towards its own language. Such situation tends to occur if a speech community comes into economic, cultural or political contact with another community or population speaking a different language and which is economically stronger and more advanced than the first speech community, or culturally aggressive, or politically more powerful and mighty.

The causes of mobility depend, in a large part, on the circumstances of departures. Therefore, there is a need to make a distinction between different types of departures. In the case of the Hadjaraye two types are to be distinguished: planned or organized departures and forced departures. In planned departures, people usually decide to go away following an epidemic or a large scale famine. Then people move to go to seek fertile lands to cultivate. Labour migration also motivates organized departure. Forced departures are generally due to war or famine. When harassed by the politics of the scorched earth, carried out through the burning of entire villages, mass arrests and summary executions of relatives, young people decide to leave, either on the advice of their parents or on their own initiative.

As a result, the maintenance or loss of a language depends, generally speaking, on the conditions of departure and the language attitude of its speakers. If it is an organized migration, the migrant takes time to plan where to go. But when it is a forced migration, the migrants will settle where they think they are out of danger of the circumstances that led to their departure, because the first instinct of the immigrant is to seek to settle down and integrate itself in the host community.

On the other hand, when immigrants live in groups it is quite possible that their languages will continue to be spoken and could possibly be transmitted to the future generations. However, when they are scattered in remote villages and towns with no contacts with other speakers of their language, the risk of isolation and the danger of not being able to speak the language continuously will remain. A family by itself cannot "possess" a language in the Saussurian and Chomskyan senses. In fact, it has been observed that the Hadjaraye immigrants regroup among themselves and establish villages. However, this could favor some languages and be a disadvantage to others. In a multilingual context like that of the Hadjaraye, the immigrants usually speak Chadian Arabic. Therefore, there is a danger that the same context that existed in their home villages could be recreated in the newly formed villages. As (Kerswill 1994) puts it "*it follows that migration has profound sociolinguistic consequences, as the migrants are uprooted from familiar, social and sociolinguistic set ups, perhaps forming an ethnolinguistic minority which has to relate sociolinguistically to a new, "host" speech community – which in turn becomes transformed by their arrival.*"

1.2.2 – The socio-cultural factors

Add to these linguistic causes of the waning of the Hadjaraye identity, the socio-cultural factors. Among the immigrants who went to the west of Guéra, there are Moslems, Christians and followers of traditional religion, but it should be emphasized that the proportion of Moslems is much greater. On the other hand it should be emphasized that most of the Hadjaraye who left Guéra as Christians had to change denominations when they arrive to their new places of stay. This is due to the social pressure that the receiving community heavily exerts on them. Most of them reconverted to Islam, because it is the religion which is strongly established in the two regions of immigration of the Hadjaraye, namely Chari-Baguirmi and Salamat.

The same situation could also be portrayed regarding the migration in the Sudan. The seasonal labor which allowed them to supply themselves in manufactured goods not available in Guéra is the one that will cause their uprooting. With the money they earned, they used to buy clothes in different qualities and also save some money so that they could buy more cattle or get married. By so doing, they brought not only the objects, but also the concepts designating them in Arabic language. That is a way of enriching their vocabulary and contributing to the spread the Arabic language. Besides, when leaving the country, they were not convinced Moslems and did not master the Arabic language, but when they return, they become fervent Moslems and speak Sudanese Arabic fluently. This is due to the fact that when they go to the Sudan, they are asked to change their authentic or traditional names by Arabic ones which are usually taken for Moslem names. The Hadjaraye is finally stripped off of the essentials that make him what he is: his name, his cult and his language.

2 - The Guéra region

2.1 – The physical setting

The then Prefecture of Guéra, now known as the region of Guéra, was carved, out of its neighbouring regions to which it used to belong in 1956. The creation of this region was an answer to sociological and ethnological imperatives and concerns. This region presents a hilly landscape known as the ‘Massif Central Tchadien’. It comprises three main massifs or mountains as presented below:

- Mount Guéra in the North, whose highest peak reaches up to 1613 m in Bitkine ;
- The Aboutelfane mountain range located in the vicinity of Mongo in the North of Guéra, whose summit (Mount Guédi) is 1506 m high;
- The peak of Abtouyour, with the height of 899m.

When moving towards the south of the Guéra region, precisely in the direction of the Melfi area, are scattered, here and there, groups of hills showing diverse and different symbolic shapes. At their summit, these rocks are bare, but densely covered with trees at their feet. They strike by their shapes which are evocative of the form of pitons, steles and needles. Some massifs look like teeth or like irregular mass put side by side, with points or columns. All are part of this mountainous landscape. Others look like piles of rocks, as if they were dropped from the sky. At this level, the latitude of

the massifs decreases to barely reach 1100m; they become less and less high and the distance between them increases. The massifs, the hills and the isolated pitons reach an altitude of roughly 300 to 500 m.

This mountainous region made up of many ups en downs contains different types of soil: iron like, Precambrian granites arenas with enclaves, vertisols, etc. The soil itself is the result of alteration of various stones: limestone, gneiss, basalt, quartz and granites. The mountains of Guéra are made up of these different qualities of stones. The soil called berbéré is partly clay and partly sand. During the dry season, it crackles in surface; after the rainy season it is transformed into a thick and slippery mud making traveling very difficult.

In each quality of the soil grow species of flora different from each other. The main species constituting the various plants are the following: *the Combretum, the Glutinosum, the Sisypus mauretania, the Ficus gnaphalocarpe, the Dalbergia melanoxilon, the Croton zambezicus, the Balanites aegyptica, the Albizzia chevalieri, the Bauhinia rufuscens, the different types of Acacia, the Scierocarya birrea, the Celtis integris Folia, the Tamarindus indica, etc.*

The climate of the Guéra region is determined by its position of 12 degrees latitude north and 18 degrees longitude east. This latitude draws the limit between the Sahel and the tropical zones in Chad. This position assigns to the Guéra region a Soudano-sahelian climate. Moreover, the morphological structure of the central massif has undoubtedly an influence on the rain regime and on the quantity of water that falls.

2.2 – The Human context

According to Merot (1951), the peoples of Guéra came in two different waves and times. The first peoples to come are those speaking what is known today as the Chadic languages, that is to say the Migami, Dangaléat and Bidiyo. They were followed later by people speaking the Chari-Nile languages like Kenga and Djaya. Le Rouvreur (1962:123) also confirms this assertion declaring that the Dangaléat, the Bidiyo and the Djonkor seem to have a Nilotic origin, meaning that they came from the Nile. Chapelle (1980) writes that for the Chadic peoples “*one could put forward the idea that these languages belong to the people who formerly settled around the south-west side of the paleo-chadian sea*”. The Arabs arrived in the Lake Chad area in the 14th century (Zeltner 1976). They were followed afterwards by the Dajo in the 19th century. Chapelle (op. cit), argues further that “*the presence of the Bolgo in this region came as the result of the important migration that expanded the establishment of the Banda from Adamawa to Ubangi and which had probably blocked the movement of the Sara to further south. By occupying this mountainous region, the Bolgo had undoubtedly, like the other Hadjaraye tried to escape the Ouaddaian expeditions. The Bolgo, the Bidiyo and the other Hadjaraye share in common not only the Margay cult but also an iron tradition of independence, a way of living and of thinking linked to the mountain*”.

Fuchs (1997) classifies the ethnic groups of Guéra into two groups: the northern group and the southern group. The northern group is made up of the following peoples:

Mubi, Migami (Djonkor Abu-Telfane), Dogange, Munange and Djonkor, Bidiyo, Dangaléat, Mawa, Mukulu, Kenga, Bidjir, Djaya, Dadjo and Arabs.

The southern group comprises the following peoples: Sokoro, Saba, Barein, Bolgo (Kubar "big" et Dugak "little"), Gula, Jegu, Kofa, Mogom, Koke, Fanian, Dakakire (Arabs) et Iyal-Nas.

Most of the ethnicities of the southern group live in the mountains surrounding the Melfi region which is the chief town of the Department of Bahr Signakha, up to the Chari River which stands as the border between Guéra and the Middle Chari regions.

Apart from the Dadjo, the Arabs and the Iyal-Nass, the rest of the ethnic groups above mentioned are real mountain dwellers; they are the ones who really bear the name "Hadjaraye".

When the Dajo arrived in the area, they occupied the northwestern plains of Abou-Telfane. Now the Dadjo live in two sous-prefectures: that of Mongo and that of Mangalmé. In the sous-préfecture of Mongo, their Canton is called Dadjo I. In the sous-prefecture of Mangalmé, their Canton bears the name of Dadjo II.

The Arabs are found almost everywhere in Guéra since they have adopted all patterns of life: nomads, semi-nomads and sedentary. But it is only in the department of Abtouyour, Guéra and Bahr Signakha that they occupy a permanent home.

The Iyal-Nass are old freed slaves but now they are completely integrated. They live in the Department of Guéra in Mongo and the Department of Bahr Signakha in Melfi. They cannot be ethnically classified in any group. But on the linguistic plan, they are Arabophone. But now they are no longer called Iyal-Nass. Their Canton is called is rather called Abbassié.

2.3 - The linguistic configuration of Guéra

The linguistic configuration of Guéra reflects by its complexity the linguistic situation of Chad generally speaking. Three of the four African language families defined by Greenberg (1966) spoken in Chad, do also exist in Guéra. Since in Chad ethnicity usually implies language, the above-mentioned ethnicities could be divided into the following African language families: Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Kordofanian.

- The Afro-Asiatic Family is represented by the Semitic and Chadic branches.

a. The Semitic Branch:

Arabic, composed of many dialects is the only representative of this branch.

b. The Chadic Branch

This branch is the most important in Guéra, in terms of number of languages and number of speakers as well. It could by itself cover the $\frac{3}{4}$ out of 306.653 inhabitants of Guéra (Beauvilain 1993). It is made up of the following languages:

- East Chadic languages spoken in north Guéra: *bidiya, dangaléat, kofa mogom, migama, mookilko, Moubi, oubi* and *zerenkel*.

- East Chadic languages spoken in south Guéra: *barein, jegu, mahwa, saba* and *sokoro*.

– The Nilo-Saharan Family

The Chari-Nile branch which can be further divided into two sub-branches represents the Nilo-Saharan family in Guéra. The two sub-branches are Central Sudan and Eastern Sudan.

a. The Central Sudan sub-branch

It comprises the Sara-Bongo-Baguirmi language group made up of the following languages: *Kenga, Djaya* and *Bidjir*.

b. The Eastern Sudan sub-branch

The *Dadjo* group whose dialect *Saaronge* is spoken in Guéra makes up this sub-branch. It is spoken in Mongo and Mangalmé areas.

– The Niger-Kordofanian Family

Bolgo, Fanian, Goula and *Koke* belong to the Adamawa sub-branch of this family.

It should be remarked that none of these languages is spoken beyond the canton in a large scale. The vehicular language used in the whole area is the Chadian Arabic.

2.4 – The historical setting

The history of Guéra could be traced according to three eras, namely the pre-colonial, the colonial and the post colonial. The pre-colonial era which is not known with certainty, dates from the old times, but since the Antiquity the Hadjaraye used to work iron in the vicinity of Melfi, precisely in Tele-Nugar (UNESCO 2005). This era was later marked by razzias and diverse attempts that were made to invade the region. This was made possible by the arrival of the Arabs in the region in the 14th century (Zeltner 1976), and by the creation of the Ouaddaï Kingdom in the 16th century (Nachtigal: Fisher & Fisher 1987).

This period could be in fact called a period of insecurity created by the razzias of the Ouaddaïans, supported by their Arab allies who usually gave them a helping hand in these circumstances. Therefore, it was very difficult for the inhabitants of the region to leave the shelter of the protective mountains and roam in the plains. They could not migrate far away at the risk of being captured as slaves. But despite this insecurity, they were reports that people used to take advantage of the caravans which were on their way to Mecca, to migrate to *Dar Saba*, meaning “East”. The Guéra region has been for long time under constant pressure since the pre-colonial period. It was subjected to raids of the powerful kingdoms of Ouaddaï and Baguirmi. Then during colonisation it has to undergo the abuses of the colonial masters (portage, hard labour, incorporation into the colonial army, etc.).

The colonial period which starts, for the Guéra region, from 1901 (Djimet 2004) will be particularly marked by the “pacification” of the region by the French. However, it should be noted that the conquest of the region was not easy at all either. It took 13 years for the French to overcome the Hadjaraye refusal to accept the French colonization. Once the region became secure enough and peace restored, the population movements will be frank, frequent and regular. People could go where they wished. For the Hadjaraye, the country of preference was the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. No one could precisely tell why the preference for such a distant country. Many Hadjaraye of the older generation know better the Sudan than Chad itself for having been there or by mere hear-say.

Initially they used to go to Sudan for the seasonal or circular labor. Usually, at the end of the rainy season, after having harvested their crops, they stored them safely in granaries and set forth to the Sudan. They will come back home at the beginning of the next rainy season.

At the beginning, only men could travel to Sudan, but when the community that went there settled and grew considerably, women also ended up by making the trip to Sudan. At that time, going to Sudan was considered as a prestige, it was mythical. Finally, the youth were attracted by this magical country and their utmost desire was to travel there at least once in their life in order to become a “been to”. Married women who suddenly disappeared from the villages were found in Sudan. Young men who have experienced love disappointments went there definitely. Sudan became, *par excellence*, the country of immigration for the Hadjaraye.

The taxes and the “Emprunt National” or Public/State loan that the Chadian government newly imposed in the year 1964 resulted in a massive exodus of the Hadjaraye to the Sudan. The collections of the taxes were made in an excessive and violent manner. People were badly beaten, whipped and stripped off of their belongings (cattle or crops). This comportment of the government officers had logically and inevitably led to the civil war. From that time on, the Hadjaraye who left their villages went to Sudan forever. From the Sudan, they could venture into Libya, Egypt and other Arab countries. Nowadays, whole villages have been founded and headed by the sole Hadjaraye. Since most of them stemmed from rural areas, they settled in Sudan also in rural areas. They live in great numbers in the Gadaref area, at the border between Sudan and Ethiopia. One can draw a parallel between the present Hadjaraye settlements in their own villages in the Chari-Baguirmi region and what happened in the Sudan 50 to 60 years ago. This insecurity which the Hadjaraye thought to have come to an end with the independence went on instead until today because of the rebellion which was harboured in the region since 1965, the year the civil war erupted in Chad. This endless insecurity made the inhabitants of Guéra to emigrate to all directions.

The post colonial period which comes immediately after the colonial period begins right after from independence of Chad in 1960. For the Guéra region, it is the period that is full of events, for it brought upheavals and transformations of all kinds. Only five years after independence, the Guéra region entered history through the civil war (Abbo 1997). As a matter of fact, the first shot signaling the start of the rebellion will

be fired in Mangalmé in 1965. From that time on, the region will endure decades of turmoil. It will become the principal scene of the armed rebellion in Chad. It should be recalled that the imposition of the Public loan and the excessive collection of taxes will hasten the events. A year later, in 1966 the FROLINAT, the Chadian first rebel movement, is created. The human factors will intervene here involving three forces in the conflict, namely the government, the rebels and the population. The latter is the one that is going to suffer most; it will find itself between the government forces on the one hand and the rebels on the other. That will force people out of their homes. From 1965 à 1990 (De Bruijn & Van Dijk 2007), the peoples of Guéra will undergo the war throes. The region will be emptied of its population. So, many young people will emigrate not only to the Sudan but also to Nigeria where paradoxically they will join the Nigerian army and take part in the Biafra civil war.

Almost a year after the creation of the FROLINAT, the rebellion will spread to Guéra in 1967. It will even stay put there and never leave the area because of its strategic position. The rebels made themselves known through resonant actions such as the murder of traditional leaders. But this was only a foretaste of what will happen in the coming years. The population will be unwillingly dragged into the war and caught between two fires: that of the government forces and that of the rebels. The rebels recruited in its ranks youngsters from within the area and instrumentalised them later against their own relatives. Soon the real intentions of the rebels will be unmasked. In fact the hidden intentions of the FROLINAT were to islamize and arabise Chad, at least the areas still resisting the penetration of Islam, namely the Guéra region and southern Chad. Even though such an implicit provision was not made in the statutes of the revolutionary movement, the signs are flagrant. Some elements tend to indicate it:

- the creation of an « Islamic Republic of Chad» in the first half of the 60', shortly preceding the creation of the FROLINAT in 1966 by the same intellectual cadres who entertain the idea of an Islamic Chad (Neuberger cited by Gerard 1982);
- an explicit reference is made to the Arabic language in the statutes of FROLINAT ; Arabic was to be imposed as an official language at the same level as French. This is already a reality.
- the destruction of the Margay's shrines which is the symbol of the Hadjaraye identity. Then followed the murder of traditional leaders who represent the symbol of the power and authority of the Hadjaraye. Civil servants hailing from this area were executed. The rebels applied, so to say, the strategy of « killing the evil from its roots » ;
- the forced conversion of people to Islam at gun point ;
- stripping people off their wealth which used to make their pride: the cattle is used to bail out relatives kidnapped by the rebels who asked for ransom; they use the following tactics: they ask for money first; if people cannot provide money, then they ask for cattle; if they don't have cattle then the rebels will measure kilos of millet or sorghum instead. The same practices used to be done by the colonizers and the government agents when collecting taxes or the public loan.
- The destruction of the archives of the Mongo Prefecture, when the rebels captured the town in 1980.

These practices will consecrate the brutal and forced conversion of the Hadjaraye to Islam and the spread of the Arabic language without a transitional phase. The political conflicts and Islam will constitute the forces of change that will bring other types of change in the region.

So, the state in its various forms, colonial or independent becomes the principal cause of the population displacement. The people of Guéra will be moved within Guéra itself many times. First in 1901, the French will force the Hadjaraye to descend from the top of the mountains down to the feet of the mountains, using barbaric means. For example they would not hesitate to burn crops still standing in the fields. Then in 1970, the former Chadian President Francois Tombalbaye will move the villages to the main roads cutting them from their original dwellings.

Add to these human factors which forced people to migrate, the natural factors such as droughts, floods, epidemics and famine being the result of prolonged and catastrophic droughts. Epidemic and floods are periodic. But the droughts that are frequent had often resulted in great famines throughout the history of Guéra. The well known ones and the most dreadful ones had been given suggestive names such as *Am Oudam* “the mother of bones”, *Am Kabassa* “the mother of the unexpected”, *Am Zaitouna* “the mother of pearl” the year women had to sell their jewelry to feed their families. And more recently in the 70’ another famine that is still remembered ravaged the whole of Guéra. It was known as *Ankour Akhouk* meaning “deny your brothers”. These different famines wiped out many villages. Those who survived had to emigrate to the south and south-west of Guéra. The villages of Mabré, Sissi and Mawa could have been founded by people originating from the canto Migami.

The two social factors, i.e. the civil war and the natural calamities are the principal causes of mobility in Guéra. The political conflicts and famine will provoke the mass emigration of the Hadjaraye to the neighboring regions of Chari-Baguirmi and Salamat.

3. – The regions of immigration

Chari-Baguirmi and Salamat are the two neighboring regions of Guéra. They share certain similarities with it, on the physical, social as well as cultural levels. Besides, they are related by history. Salamat and Guéra have endured the atrocities of the rebellion because of their strategic positions. Rebels have not only circulated the two areas but they have also established their bases in Zane in Guéra.

3.1 – The Chari-Baguirmi region

The present region of Chari-Baguirmi corresponds to a part of the former prefecture of Chari-Baguirmi. Its Chief town is Massenya. But formerly, N’Djamena was the chief town of the prefecture of Chari-Baguirmi. With the new administrative division, N’Djamena becomes a separate region. It is one of the border regions under study. It is located in the west of Guéra. It is the preferred zone of immigration of the Hadjaraye because the capital of Chad is in this very region. Many Hadjaraye go there for many reasons: to pay visit to relatives living there, to seek job and keep up with administrative documents. Because of its strategic position, i.e. bordering a foreign

country, Cameroon, N'Djamena is the nearest border for the Hadjaraye in case of a conflict in Chad. They also use N'Djamena to cross over to Nigeria.

The main ethnic groups are the Barma (the autonym of the original inhabitants of Chari-Baguirmi), the Arabs. There are also other groups such as Fulbe, Kanuris, etc. But it should be underlined that due to frequent conflicts in Chad, many other ethnic groups have come to this area seeking refuge or security. If a census were organized, the Hadjaraye will be among the important groups in N'Djamena and its vicinity.

The relations between the Hadjaraye and the Baguirmi in particular go far back to the time of the Baguirmi kingdom. But these relations could have existed even before the creation of the kingdom. The Baguirmi oral tradition has it that the Baguirmi kingdom would have been created by two Kenga hunters led by Birni Mbese and Dokkenge. One of these tribe leaders would have founded the town of Massenya by instigating the population to rise against the Bulala domination and reject it. So, for the crowning of the new Baguirmi king, the Baguirmi usually pay allegiance to the Kenga by coming to Mataya and in order to organize the required sacrifices. Beside these cultural ties, the Kenga and the Baguirmi are also linguistically related, because their languages belong to the Sara-baguirmian group of the Nilo-Saharan family. On the other hand, the Sokoro of Guéra are also culturally related to the Baguirmi.

3.2 – The Salamat region

The Salamat region is located in the south-east of Guéra. It is also one of the immigration regions of the Hadjaraye but contrary to the Chari-Baguirmi region, those who chose to go there did it because it is nearer to Guéra and also because they were seeking a fertile land to cultivate, having also been forced to leave the effects of drought and famine. The Salamat region is well known as a fertile land. It is an agro-pastoral area like Guéra. The Hadjaraye immigrants have established their settlements in Aboudeia, Haraze Mangagne and Am-timan

The ethnic groups of Salamat are Arabs, Rounga, Fongoro, Toram, Kibet, Birgit and Djonkor Bourma Taguil (SIL 2000). Toram, birgit and Djonkor Bourma Taguil belong to the Chadic Branch of the Afro-Asiatic family. They are related to the Chadic languages of Guéra, such as Bidiya, Migama, and koffa-Mogom, Saba, Barein and Sokoro.

4. – Pattern, processes and parameters of mobility

4.1 - Pattern and processes of mobility

“Mobility” is also understood in this paper “as an umbrella term encompassing all types of movement” (De Bruijn, Van Dijk & Foeken 2001). But only one pattern of this phenomenon is being dealt with here, i.e. migration. In the context of the Hadjaraye, migration has changing processes; it has moved from seasonal voluntary migration to involuntary or forced migration.

As aforementioned, the mobility of the Hadjaraye had been caused by both natural factors (famine, drought) and human factors (colonization, civil war). The type of

migration being dealt with in the present study is the internal migration, that is, a move across a boundary within a country. Accordingly, within this mobility, three subtypes of migration could be distinguished according to the periods of migration that took place in the history of the Hadjaraye. The following subtypes are to be distinguished:

- traditional migration
- contemporary migration
- modern migration

Traditional migration refers mainly to the migration that took place in the pre-colonial area, where the process of migration, as the term implies, was traditional. It is this migration that had shaped the configuration of the present day ethnic groups of Guéra and their settlements. The traditional migration is usually voluntary but it might have been also determined by natural factors.

The contemporary migration, in the context of the history of the Hadjaraye, encompasses the colonial and the post-colonial eras. The colonial era ushered in a period of peace in the region. It facilitated the movements of population which became regular and devoid of fear. Contacts between people of different languages and cultures have also been made easier and so were exchanges of all kinds: with nomads and with itinerant traders. The post colonial era, that of the independence will be characterized by periods of drought leading to large scale famine and also by the endless civil war. This is the period of massive departures from Guéra to the neighboring and to other regions as well. This process of migration could be termed as a “forced migration” implying that people were *pushed* by conflicts and natural disasters, rather than deciding on their own initiative to emigrate.

The modern migration covers the period going from independence to nowadays. It depends to some extent on the situation in the country. It is called a motivated migration, since people decide voluntarily to move in search for jobs away from home with an intention to return. This type of migration used to be undertaken during the colonial times when the Hadjaraye used to go to the Sudan as seasonal workers. On their return, they bring not only manufactured goods but also the concepts designating them.

4.2 – Parameters of mobility

These three processes of migration are to be replaced in the context of the four parameters of migration in order to see to what extent they impact on the migrants’ languages. They are:

- space
- distance
- motivation
- social factors

Space:

Sociolinguistically, the distinction between moves within and across administrative boundaries within a state is of little consequence except insofar as the boundaries reflect or in some cases shape differing allegiances. Where the boundary separates

states, significant differences of culture, economic conditions, education and language may be involved and the impact of migration will be greater (Kerswill op. cit.). The Hadjaraye case is that of multilingual groups. Moving within boundaries will even have real impact on them. The striking case is that of Zerenkel, a language that came into being out of the encounter of the Mubi and the Danggaléat (Alio 1998). Further, the Djonkor Bourma Taguil who moved from Aboutelfane and who are now in Salamat have retained their identity and language even though it has a bit changed.

Distance

Space is also reflected in distance. Short distance migration differs from long distance migration in the degree to which individuals can maintain links with the point of origin, as well as the amount of personal commitments (resources, motivation) needed to move and maintain links. People of Guéra have undergone both types of migration, i.e. the short-distance and the long-distance one. The short distance migration took place within the Guéra region itself. The long-distance migration which could be relative has taken them as far as N'Djaména, the Sudan or Nigeria. The links with the place of origin is easily maintained with the short-distance migration than with the long-distance one. Concerning the contacts with the region of origin, some immigrants started paying visits to their relatives who stayed back home, only after the relative period of peace which followed the overthrow of Hissène Habré by Idriss Deby in 1990. Thence, people traveled to and fro on a regular basis or sporadically. Some never returned even though they maintained contacts with relatives through travelers, letters or lately through mobile phones. The unhappy memories of war which are still lingering on have discouraged them. They don't feel like going back home. Some others think that if the security improves in the country they are willing to return. There are also others who prefer not to return. They are well established where they are. The distance factor is linguistically relevant because the contacts have the advantage of resuming the links with the people and the languages at the same time. However the long-distance migration which implies long term migration could have negative effects on language, because after some time, in the end only the older generation will "possess the language". The younger generation is not likely to speak it, particularly if their mothers come from the host community.

Direction

Finally space also involves direction. The direction of migration of the Hadjaraye has been initially rural to rural. But later when the ecological and political circumstances became extremely harsh and unbearable, people geared their movements towards the urban areas where they thought they could feel secure. Usually the voluntary migration is directed to the urban centers where migrants go to look for jobs. However in the Sudan, the majority of the Hadjaraye went to the rural areas, since they did not have any qualification. The dominant sociolinguistic effect of the rural and urban migration will be for the benefit of the lingua franca in the case of the Hadjaraye wherever they go. But in Nigeria they will have to learn an additional language which is Hausa and in Cameroun they will learn Fulfulde, even though Shuwa Arabic, which is similar to Chadian Arabic, is also spoken.

Time

It is reasonable to suppose that migration of people is a leading cause of contact-induced change; in other words, migration is a key extra-linguistic factor leading to extremely motivated change. In every case of migration, language or dialect contact ensues. Migration also has far-reaching consequences for the social fabric of the three communities affected: the society of origin, the society of destination and the migrants themselves.

Social factors

Social factors are described at length in section 2.4 and subsequent paragraphs. In the social factors imply the civil war and the famines that caused the forced migration and its consequences. They brought about the social transformations such as the cultural changes and the linguistic ones. The cultural changes concern mainly the change from traditional names to Islam or to Christianity. The change of denomination goes from traditional belief to Islam or from Christianity to Islam. The cultural and the linguistic changes affect the most the personality of the immigrant, they have psychological consequences.

Motivation

Motivation gives way to voluntary migration. Usually people are economically motivated to leave home in order to go and look for job most often in urban centers. Drought is the one of reasons that motivates people to go to seek jobs (De Bruijn 2006). But during these last years people prefer to go straight to N'Djamena or its outskirts because of security.

5. – Settlement and social integration of the migrants

The immigrants who established themselves in the Chari-Baguirmi area come from almost all the cantons of Guéra. There is no member of an ethnic group that has not been forced out of its home. This is an indicator of the scale of the events that happened in the Guéra region and their consequences. The departures took place in different periods: during the colonial and post colonial periods. These two periods correspond to the difficult moments the Hadjaraye had to undergo during the collections of the taxes and the public loan and the ill treatments that usually accompanied them. The exodus of the Hadjaraye did not stop whatsoever, it continued the following years: in 1979 at the peak of the civil war, in 1984-1985 pushed by famine and in the year 1986-1990 when the relations with Hissène Habré went sour. So, the Hadjaraye left Guéra to settle in the Chari-Baguirmi area for many years. Obviously, the men were the first to leave in order to find shelter, a plot of land to cultivate and a job before they had members of their families join them later. Among the Hadjaraye who emigrated in Chari-Baguirmi, the Dangaléat constitute the most important group. Then come the Kenga, followed by the Migami. The other groups, less important numerically, usually melt in one of the dominant groups. The Hadjaraye who settled in the Chari-Baguirmi area could be found around N'Djamena, the capital of Chad and particularly along the roads leading to the following directions: N'Djamena-Guelendeng, N'Djamena-Dourbali, N'Djamena-Lake Chad and N'Djamena-Massaguet.

The people of Guéra who emigrated to Salamat departed from areas bordering it. Particularly concerned are the cantons of Dadjo, Bidiyo and Migami and to a lesser

extent Dangkaléat, Sokoro and Mawa. That is why people from these cantons are seen in great number there. The most important group is that of the Migami who settled since the 1940. Then, followed the Bolgo, Dadjo, Bidiyo, etc. There are also Hadjaraye coming from other cantons but not in great numbers.

As to the social integration of the immigrants in the two regions, it was done without much problem. The fact that they speak Chadian Arabic which is the vehicular language in Chad, and that most of them are Moslems has helped them to integrate themselves in the host communities. It has even made easier their integration. It is a generally accepted view that the ability to speak the languages of the receiving society usually plays an important part in the process of integration, because it is a precondition for participating. Having a common language does seem to facilitate the social integration of the migrant community. The mode of installation is the same all over the two regions. When migrants first arrive, they usually report to the chief of the canton, to the head of the village or any other person in charge of the place they reached. Then, they are allocated a plot where they can build their shelter and cultivate, whenever the case may be. Depending on the size of the group, they usually stick together and establish their own villages. In such case, the immigrants take the opportunity to give to these villages the names of their own villages, in memory of the ones they left behind. The Somo village, near the village of Kournari located along the river Logone is a typical example.

The activities the members of the immigrant community could practice depend largely on what they were capable of doing. Since most of them stem from rural areas where the main occupations are agriculture and cattle breeding, these are the first opportunities for them. Getting a plot intended for agriculture should not pose a problem. They need only to ask the person in charge of the land. Beside agriculture, the immigrants who have learnt another job could also exert it. For example, tailors, bricklayers, carpenters, laundry workers set to work while waiting to harvest their agricultural products. They could also practice petit commerce by crossing over to the Cameroonian side of the border to acquire some products which they will bring and sell in the local markets.

Concluding remarks

Conflict usually generates mobility. When people move, language is taken along. In this particular case, when the Hadjaraye group moves together it is usually composed of a multitude of languages, i.e., a context of multilingualism. But, before looking into the fate of the languages of the migrants, the languages of the host community and the presence of a dominant language of a lingua franca type in the area are also to be taken into consideration, since they will come in contact and whereby increase the number of languages. In order to measure the impact of migration on the languages of the migrant community, four parameters of migration have also been taken into account; they are: space, time, motivation and social factors (the causes and the conflicts). Considering the pattern of mobility, its processes and parameters, it has yielded the following linguistic effects: increase of multilingualism, reinforcement of the lingua franca, gradual loss of the minority languages and loss of identity. Add to these, further linguistic effects such as: borrowing, bilingualism, code switching, code mixing in case a language managed to be maintained.

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